United Nations S/PV.8104

Security Council

Seventy-second year

Provisional

8104th meeting

Thursday, 16 November 2017, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Alfano	(Italy)
Members:	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mr. Llorentty Soliz
	China	Mr. Shen Bo
	Egypt	Mr. Aboulatta
	Ethiopia	Mr. Alemu
	France	Mr. Delattre
	Japan	Mr. Bessho
	Kazakhstan	Mr. Umarov
	Russian Federation	Mr. Nebenzia
	Senegal	Mr. Seck
	Sweden	Mr. Skoog
	Ukraine	Mr. Yelchenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Rycroft
	United States of America	Ms. Sison
	Uruguay	Mr. Bermúdez

Agenda

The situation in Libya

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17-38586 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Libya

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Libya to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Siala, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings from Mr. Salamé and Ambassador Olof Skoog, Permanent Representative of Sweden, in his capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

I give the floor to Mr. Salamé.

Mr. Salamé: I would like to congratulate Italy on assuming the presidency of the Security Council this month. I am privileged to see Minister Alfano presiding over this meeting, which is a reflection of Italy's strong commitment to supporting the United Nations effort to end the crisis in Libya.

It has been two months since the launch of the action plan for Libya. The action plan is made up of a number of ingredients which the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) has simultaneously started working on, including amending the Libyan Political Agreement, organizing a national conference, preparing for elections and providing humanitarian assistance.

The Libyan case may appear simple. As a nation without stark ethnic or sectarian divides, but with a good educational system and a wealth of natural resources, many challenges faced elsewhere are not found there. But what might be mistaken for a homogenous nation is actually a country divided at the atomic level. Sparked by the 2011 conflict and fueled over the subsequent years, the national polity has imploded. In its place, there has been an explosion of competing individual agendas, often masquerading as representing regions, cities or tribes. Reconstituting the Libyan national polity is a must, for without it effective institutions cannot form, and rebuilding a State can only be a Sisyphean endeavour.

I am pleased to report that over the past two months, the action plan has made significant headway. The United Nations convened two sessions of the joint drafting committee, composed of members from both the House of Representatives and the High State Council, to agree on a set of amendments to the Libyan Political Agreement in UNSMIL's offices in Tunis. For the first time, with these meetings article 12 of the Libyan Political Agreement has been implemented. I welcome the mutual recognition of the two assemblies and their acknowledgment of the Libyan Political Agreement as the sole available framework for ending the crisis in Libya.

Since the meetings, the two bodies have been in constant contact. Though much progress has been made, a few remaining points are still to be agreed. I am quite confident that we are close to a consensus. We will not tailor a process to pick particular candidates, and any mechanism to select a new Presidency Council and Government must be transparent and fair. I am pleased to report that the Libyan public has overwhelmingly welcomed this principled approach. It is expected that politicians are overexcited by the question of "who", but for us, what is important is the question of "how" — by which we mean, there must be a fair, open and competitive process.

Work is also ongoing on other aspects of the action plan. UNSMIL is well into preparations for the national conference — al-Multaqa al-Watani — which is to take place in February 2018. We are currently exploring the possibility of hosting it inside Libya, and I welcome the many Libyan offers of assistance that we have received. The national conference will give Libyans from all across the country the opportunity to come together in one place for the first time, to renew their common national narrative, and to agree on the tangible steps required to end the transition. I insist that the conference be inclusive in order to allow the adoption of a true national charter and provide guidelines for the legislation needed to end the transition. Such a conference is needed now more than ever in the light

of renewed threats to national unity issued recently by parallel authorities.

As for elections, we are intensively trying to establish the proper political and technical conditions for their occurrence. Elections should not take place until we are certain that they will not add a third Parliament or a fourth Government. Libyans deserve uncontested national institutions.

To ensure preparedness, the High National Electoral Commission is working to initiate a voter registration update before the end of the year, which will be the first such exercise since 2014. The international community stands fully ready to support the process. On its part, the House of Representatives must assume its duty to pass the requisite electoral legislation. There must also be a clear constitutional framework. The Constitutional Drafting Assembly was elected and mandated to produce a new constitution, and it has completed its draft. I salute its fortitude for the pressure it has faced and condemn the threats made against Assembly members.

The constitutional process must now move forward. While we work together to implement the various parts of the action plan, no vacuum is acceptable. The Libyan Political Agreement of 2015 must therefore stand, amended or not, as the framework for the conclusion of the transition.

As part of the action plan, the United Nations is also working to create a more secure and normal life for all citizens so that Libyans can go about their daily lives free from fear and want. We are intensifying our engagement with armed groups and developing our strategy for their gradual reintegration into civilian life. In Tripoli, our experts are working closely with State security forces to empower them to secure the capital more effectively. Moreover, we continue our engagement with military leaders across the country on the future shape of Libya's defence institutions. The sustainable delivery of human security in Libya also needs an empowered judiciary and professional law enforcement and security agencies. The United Nations is working with the Ministry of Justice and other Libyan actors on initiatives, in particular reforming the appalling detention system.

The Mission continues to work to facilitate dialogue between local communities and institutions, such as the preliminary agreement recently reached between Tripoli and Zintan. In this context, I commend the decision of the Presidency Council to create a national reparations fund for all victims of the conflict.

We cannot ignore the dire humanitarian situation in Libya. In the past, the country has been a donor to much of Africa; now, 25 per cent of the population has humanitarian needs. In particular, Libya's health sector is in crisis. Only a fraction of the country's public hospitals is functioning. Medicines are in short supply and modern equipment is often left in disrepair. Foreign staff, the traditional backbone of Libya's health-care system, have fled. Some Libyan practitioners warn that the country is vulnerable to a potential epidemic outbreak. We plan to call a high-level coordination meeting among local and international stakeholders early in 2018.

It is outrageous that a country that stands upon such vast wealth has so much suffering. However, it does, and so we must help it to tackle the most urgentconcerns.

Our humanitarian strategy seeks to help to address the acute needs of the most vulnerable groups. I hope the the Council can consider supporting our programme for 2018, not to mention the now critical two-year-old Stabilization Facility for Libya, which has brought tangible benefits to communities in Ubari, Benghazi, Sabha, Sirte and Kikla. Encouraged by the success, the Facility is expanding to Bani Walid and the greater Tripoli area. Owing to the Stabilization Facility, hospitals have been reopened and children have classrooms.

Yet that is not enough. Much more remains to be done. On migrants and refugees, despite emergency assistance, we have seen an increase in the number of people arbitrarily detained in a system with no accountability or due process. Migrants continue to be subjected to extreme violence, forced labour, extortion, killings and other grave abuses inside and outside official places of detention. We urge the Libyan Government to address that challenge directly and comprehensively in order to find a solution that respects the rights of migrants and host communities across the country. The United Nations stands ready to work with the Libyan authorities and their northern and southern neighbours to develop innovative and sustainable solutions.

Beyond the action plan, three very serious challenges have appeared on our agenda: impunity for grave crimes, the economy of predation and the erosion of frozen assets.

First, impunity and lawlessness continue to prevail across the country in the face of increasingly heinous crimes committed every day. A few recent examples include the fact that, on 26 October, 36 corpses were found in Al-Abyar, near Benghazi. The corpses showed signs of having been tortured before they were executed. That example is one in a long series of discoveries of corpses being dumped in and around Benghazi over the past months. Days later, a fighter jet bombed a family in the outskirts of the city of Derna. Fourteen civilians, most of whom were children, and including some women, were killed in an appalling incident tantamount to a war crime. On 20 October, in Tripoli, the bodies of three men were handed over to families hours after having been taken alive during clashes in the Al-Ghrarat area, raising concerns of extrajudicial killings. We are still investigating the recent events that led to the death of numerous fighters in the Warshafanah area, in western Libya. There are suspicions that a number of those fighters may have been killed in a manner that violates international law.

Events such as these shake popular faith in the political process. I once again call on the Libyan authorities to investigate those incidents and to hold the perpetrators to account. However, I cannot ignore that such events take place across the country with alarming regularity and I cannot accept that repeated calls for justice go unheeded. If Libyans alone cannot combat impunity for war crimes, it is time for the international community to consider mechanisms, including possibly joint tribunals, that can help them to do so.

The second challenge is that politics in Libya are strongly shaped by economic predation. In an environment of protracted insecurity and a lack of accountability, the shadow economy has been flourishing. Billions of dollars are lost every year in illicit money transfers. The gap between the official exchange rate, set at 1.4 Libyan dinars to the dollar, and the black-market exchange rate, at 9 dinars to the dollar, provides ample opportunities to earn huge profit margins. Brokers benefit from the selling of letters of credits and cheques. The traffic of subsidized fuel to foreign countries robs the country of hundreds of millions of dollars every month. Other measures include the issuing of overvalued government contracts. The result is that Libya's financial reserves are depleting rapidly. Libya is a textbook example of the appearance of instant millionaires and of the extremely rapid pace of middle-class impoverishment. It is the Libyan people who pay the highest price for that. Two of every five Libyan youths are now unemployed.

The third challenge, beyond predation, which robs the country of many dollars, is that hundreds of millions more dollars are being silently lost due to the poor management of Libya's frozen assets. Freezing the assets is one thing. However, their mismanagement is another. We should revisit how Libya's external wealth and investments are managed so that they are not silently and gradually lost for future generations.

The relaunch of the political process has created a new momentum. I am pleased to see many constructive and peaceful debates on the future of the country. It is testimony to the commitment of the Libyan people that, on a daily basis, I receive new ideas and suggestions about the political process from ordinary citizens who are keen and free to participate in shaping their country's future. Those citizens are not prepared to sacrifice their rights for security — and they do not need to do so. In a society based on institutions, neither rights nor security must be compromised.

I am committed to doing my utmost to assist the Libyans to resolve their political crisis. The United Nations is ramping up its presence in Libya and has already significantly increased its footprint in the country.

Allow me to end by thanking Council members for their commitment and support to our efforts to resolve the crisis in Libya. I would also like to thank our Quartet partners: the African Union, the League of Arab States and the European Union. Their unified efforts are key to the success of the action plan and the better future that it promises for the people of Libya.

The President: I thank Mr. Salamé for his excellent and comprehensive briefing and for his work.

I now give the floor to Ambassador Skoog.

Mr. Skoog (Sweden): In accordance with paragraph 24 (e) of resolution 1970 (2011) of 26 February 2011, I have the honour to report to the Security Council on the work of the Committee established by the same resolution. The report covers the period from 29 August to 16 November 2017, during which time the Committee met once in informal consultations and conducted additional work via the silence procedure.

At the outset, I would like to note that, based on the requests of the Libyan Government, on 20 and 31 October, respectively, the Committee renewed the listings of the *Capricorn* and the *Lynn S* vessels for a further period of 90 days each. Pursuant to information received from the Panel of Experts on Libya, the Committee also updated the most recently known locations of those vessels on its sanctions list. As the Council will recall, the vessels were included on the sanctions list for attempting to illicitly export gasoil from Libya. During the reporting period, the Committee also responded to a request for guidance from Egypt on the scope of the measures contained in paragraphs 10 (a) and 10 (b) of resolution 2146 (2014), as they relate to vessels transiting the Suez Canal.

With respect to the arms embargo, the Committee approved two requests for exemption, submitted under paragraph 9 (c) of resolution 1970 (2011). Those requests came from the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) and the Netherlands, respectively. The Committee also received, and did not object to, a notification submitted under paragraph 13 (b) of resolution 1970 (2011) from UNSMIL, and received two post-delivery notifications from the Mission. There was no agreement on the Committee on follow-up action with regard to recommendation 5 contained in the final report of the Panel of Experts (S/2017/466), which relates to the arms embargo.

With regard to the assets freeze, the Committee sought further clarification on an exemption request, submitted by Switzerland pursuant to paragraph 19 (b) of resolution 1970 (2011). The Committee also continued its consideration of an exemption request submitted by Canada, without reference to any specific exemption provision.

The Committee is also considering technical updates to its guidelines for the conduct of its work. The previous time such an exercise was undertaken was in October 2011.

Finally, on 10 November, the Committee convened informal consultations jointly with the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) concerning the Sudan and the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2206 (2015) concerning South Sudan on the subject of the presence and activities of Darfuri armed groups in Libya and South Sudan. That was an initiative of the Chair of the 1591 Committee following his visit to the Sudan in May 2017. During the discussion, the Panels of Experts assisting the three Committees shared their findings on the illicit cross-border activities of the Darfuri armed groups, including fighting as mercenaries for different sides in Libya, engaging in actions that violated the arms embargo in relation to Libya, and participating in or facilitating fuel smuggling and migrant trafficking in Libya. Committee members exchanged views on the matter.

The President: I thank Ambassador Skoog for his briefing and for his effective work as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

It is now my pleasure to switch hats and deliver a statement on behalf of Italy. Again, I wish to thank Special Representative Salamé for his briefing, Ambassador Skoog for the update on the sanctions committee and Minister Siala for being at our meeting today.

In Libya, stability and security across the Mediterranean are at stake. A political solution is indispensable. There are no military shortcuts, because if a party goes for the military option, the crisis could continue for a long time and Da'esh could re-emerge. The fight against terrorism must remain a strategic priority and the control of the Libyan borders is also very critical. Today, for instance, after the defeat of Da'esh in Iraq and in Syria, foreign fighters may return to Libya and, from there, to Europe.

Italy has saved and welcomed thousands of refugees and migrants by combining solidarity and security, but, especially at this moment, the focus on the Libyan borders has become a security imperative. It is a task that must be shared by the main actors of the international community.

Only two months have passed since Ghassan Salamé laid out his action plan. We appreciated the constructive approach of the discussions in Tunis. The image of the two delegations sitting at the negotiating table was a very good signal. We do not underestimate the difficulties of a complex process. We are aware that critical issues remain unresolved. Obstacles and challenges are real. However, we stand firmly behind Mr. Salamé's efforts. Rushing to elections without progress on security and reconciliation may be counterproductive. Elections have to be kept on the political horizon, but voting without setting the rules could fuel tensions. For all these reasons, we call on

Libyans to support the political process and to seize the opportunity offered by Mr. Salamé's plan. The Libyans must build upon it with a spirit of openness and compromise.

Next month is the second anniversary of the Skhirat Political Agreement. This anniversary is not a deadline. Instead, it should be used to redouble efforts for political compromise and to promote reconciliation. The parties and the international community cannot allow a dangerous vacuum in the Libyan institutions. The Libyan Political Agreement remains the only framework for the transition. While the Libyans are negotiating, we need institutional interlocutors to define and implement programmes for the sake of the Libyan people. In order to improve security, Libya needs unified security forces under the control of the Presidency Council.

Libya cannot afford to fall victim to new armed conflicts. Italy has condemned the brutal bombings near Derna and the horrific killings discovered near Benghazi. We join the Libyan people, the Libyan institutions and the United Nations in calling for an impartial investigation on the latest tragic episodes. At the same time, full humanitarian access must be granted where basic needs and human rights are at risk. For example, we welcome the news that the World Health Organization managed to enter Derna to deliver medical aid.

Italy is very close to the civilian population. We have provided humanitarian and development assistance to fragile sectors of society, including women, children, refugees and migrants. The decline of migration flows is encouraging, but it cannot be at the expense of human rights. Italy has devoted many resources to the Libyan Coast Guard and local municipalities. We want to improve the appalling conditions of refugee and migrant centres. We are now launching new calls for projects of non-governmental organizations. Already, we are working together with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration.

A crucial component of Libya's stabilization is the relaunch of its economy. Libya would also benefit from a long-term vision — a kind of Libya 2030 Agenda — as a framework for action.

Allow me a final word on the international community's presence in Libya. Italy was the first western country to reopen its embassy in Tripoli. We welcome the gradual increase of the United Nations presence and we encourage other countries to consider their return. Together, we shall rebuild those political, economic and cultural ties that can help our Libyan friends on the path to peace, security and stability.

I resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to those Council members who wish to make statements.

Mr. Rycroft (United Kingdom): I welcome you, Mr. President, back to New York. It is a pleasure to see you at this meeting. I think your presence is a sign of your country's commitment to the people of Libya at this difficult time for them.

I also thank Ambassador Skoog for all his hard work on the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, and Special Representative Salamé for his thorough and fascinating briefing. It has certainly been an eventful two months sent he set out his action plan for Libya to the General Assembly. Under his guidance there have been important steps forward to revitalize the Libyan political process. Yet, in recent weeks, violence has escalated again. It is clear that Libya now faces a simple choice — a future of stability and security or a return to a past of violence and uncertainty.

Let me start with the positives, and there have been positive developments on the political process. The dialogue committees from both the House of Representatives and the High State Council worked hard to secure agreements on amendments to the Libyan Political Agreement. This has taken courage and compromise, but of course it is only a start. Further commitment from all parties is now needed to sustain the momentum and move Libya forward. In doing so, we should not lose sight of what is at stake. It is a real chance now for Libya to establish a truly national Government — one that will enjoy the support of both the House of Representatives and the High State Council and that will be able to deliver for all its citizens. Further delay, however, will only prolong the suffering of ordinary Libyans who I think we can all agree have suffered for far too long.

We need only look at the recent escalation in violence to see the consequences of delay. The strikes on Derna, which killed 16 civilians and the recent apparent summary executions in Al-Abyar and Warshafanah are examples. There are many others. These escalating acts

of violence make it unambiguously clear that a political solution is no longer a choice, but a critical necessity for the Libyan people. We should all be concerned by these continuing human rights violations and abuses across the country, so many of them at the expense of civilians, including migrants. Let us all condemn extrajudicial killings by all parties from all sides of the conflict. The climate of impunity must stop. I reiterate our support for Libyan and international efforts to bring to account those responsible for such crimes.

It is clear from the recent escalation in violence that the existing arms embargo has not cut off the flow of illicit weapons in and out of Libya. This is not only undermining the peace and security of Libya and the region, but it is also playing into the hands of terrorist groups who continue to threaten global security. I urge all Member States to make every effort to ensure that the arms embargo is strictly observed.

Engagement between both sides is needed not only for the political process, but also for the economy. A prosperous economy will be realized only if key economic institutions take the steps necessary to introduce important reforms. It is also vital that Libya's oil resources be used to benefit the country as a whole. I call on all Member States to make sure that they continue to do all they can to prevent illegal oil smuggling and enforce the sanctions regime, which was designed to protect Libya's oil wealth for the benefit of the Libyan people.

Let me conclude by reiterating that the Libyan Political Agreement remains the only valid framework for Libya's transitional period into 2018. The United Kingdom will continue to support the immediate next steps to amend the Agreement and agree on a reformed Presidency Council. We will also support subsequent efforts to promote national reconciliation, agree on a longer-term Constitution and prepare for elections. We believe that the United Nations must remain firmly at the helm and that the international community must be united and steadfast in its support because, simply put, conflict and instability in Libya are hurting the region and the world, but most of all, they are hurting Libya's citizens. I therefore call on Libya's leaders from all sides to show that they are committed to delivering peace and security for all Libyan people. They must look beyond immediate personal considerations and towards the long-term future of their country. They have a responsibility to make progress and I urge them to continue to work with Special Representative Salamé and take the bold steps required to move Libya forward.

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank you, Mr. President, and we are pleased to have you in the Chamber today. We are grateful to Mr. Ghassan Salamé for his briefing. We very much hope that he can execute his difficult task of helping to unify Libya and we sincerely wish him every success. There is no alternative to that path if the aim is to end the crisis as soon as possible and put a stop the threats emanating from Libya, including terrorism.

The country's complicated situation is still extremely worrying. The political fragmentation continues, the authorities disagree with one another and armed groups, some of them radicalized, control large areas. Terrorists are hiding out in remote corners and remain dangerous despite having suffered losses. Various forms of criminal activity are flourishing, set up by the criminal networks that have enmeshed the entire Mediterranean region, and there is evidence that the contraband activity may be reaching Europe. The Libyan economy is clearly in dire straits and the social sector is in bad shape. The situation of permanent chaos is having a detrimental effect on the Libyan people, who are sick of living with the protracted consequences of the adventurist military undertaking of 2011.

However, there have been some encouraging moments suggesting there may be hope for a certain amount of progress in the political process. It appears that those Libyan leaders with common sense realize that the crisis can be resolved only by political means. The obligation to refrain from the use of force is crucial, as is their demonstrated willingness to act based on the Libyan Political Agreement in order to implement the arrangements previously agreed to on establishing national institutions and law enforcement bodies. We should not omit to note the Libyans' intention to hold elections under United Nations supervision in accordance with Mr. Salamé's action plan. We would like to be sure that in both Tripoli and Tobruk they have understood that the only way to deal with this crisis is through joint efforts at the negotiating table. If not, the country will be plunged into even greater chaos, fraught with irreversible consequences for the Libyan regime.

We support the efforts that have been undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations and welcome the signs we are seeing of momentum in finding

solutions. As a long-time friend of Libya, Russia will continue to assist it in that regard. We have been working systematically with the Libyan parties since the signing of the Agreement in Skhirat, guided by the imperative of preserving Libya's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We encourage the Libyans to overcome their internal differences and seek mutually acceptable solutions on all disputed issues. We stress the importance of promoting a constructive dialogue and ensuring that it is broadly representative. Much remains to be done on that front, since various political forces in Libya are still sitting on the sidelines of the political process. However, our principled position is that the Libyan people themselves must decide their country's fate and that attempts to impose ready-made schemes on them would be counterproductive.

There is still significant work to be done in order to arrive at lasting agreements on the parameters for national reconciliation, and in that connection it will still be vital to ensure dynamic international support to the political process in Libya so as to promote stability during its transitional period. We should consolidate that support and ensure that no needless competition is involved, thereby avoiding the creation of any new dividing lines. That also applies to the various forms of practical assistance provided by Libya's foreign partners, including the various so-called training programmes. The efforts of the United Nations will be successful only if we all play by the same rules. We appreciate the importance of the steps taken by international and regional sponsors of the political process in Libya, including its neighbours, but the United Nations should continue to take the main coordinating role.

Our colleague Mr. Olof Skoog, in his capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, has briefed us on the subsidiary body's recent activities. For our part, we note that the problem of the uncontrolled circulation of weapons in Libya is still acute, especially in the absence of a unified army and other law-enforcement bodies. It affects security both in the country and the Sahel-Saharan region, which is why it is crucial to ensure that the arms embargo is strictly observed. In the circumstances, it would be premature to start talking about relaxing the current sanctions regime. As far as illicit exports from Libya of oil and oil derivatives are concerned, that represents a serious problem for the national economy. However, Sanctions Committee measures should be strictly applied based on real, verified data and in line with the parameters established in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, with no free interpretations of the rules.

Mr. Delattre (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Special Representative Ghassan Salamé for his very enlightening briefing and welcome his continued efforts in the quest for a political solution, which, needless to say, is the only way forward in Libya. I also thank the Permanent Representative of Sweden for his helpful briefing on the ongoing work of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

For France, success in Libya depends on two complementary requirements. We must maintain unity within the Security Council in support of Mr. Salamé's efforts in order to strengthen the current political momentum, while affirming that it is the joint responsibility of all the Libyan stakeholders to assume ownership of the political process and take their destiny into their own hands.

On the political front, we will continue giving our full support to the Special Representative in his difficult task. I would like to commend his exemplary commitment. The consultations between the two chambers begun in Tunis in September enabled a consensus to be reached on key points, including reform of the Presidency Council. The progress made in Tunis still has to be finalized in the next stages of the action plan, and our joint support to Mr. Salamé will be crucial for that. As I have said, for the action plan to succeed, every Libyan stakeholder has to take on more responsibility. We encourage dialogue among all stakeholders within the Mr. Salamé's framework, which represents the only valid mediation effort. We hope that everyone in Libya who has clout in the national reconciliation process will engage sincerely and resolutely with the Special Representative in order to implement the various stages of his action plan — the review by the High Statae Council and the House of Representatives of the Skhirat Political Agreement, the holding of an inclusive national conference, the preparations for elections and the adoption of the Constitution.

In that connection, France condemns the individual strategies that have led some key players to hold the Libyan Political Agreement review process

hostage, as France's Foreign Minister Le Drian had the opportunity to remind stakeholders. The international community must exert all its influence on Libyan officials to engage responsibly and unambiguously in the political process. In that regard, we reiterate that the Skhirat Agreement remains the only valid and legitimate framework for any negotiations aimed at completing the transition and eventually establishing a constitutional framework and holding elections. We must continue to hammer home the fact that there can be no military solution in Libya. Defeating terrorism in the country in the long term and responding to the challenges presented by migration demands a political solution that allows for national reconciliation and the restoration of a State in full control of its territory.

We are very concerned about the increasing number of violent acts and the deteriorating security situation across Libya, from the recent strikes on Derna to the discovery of a mass grave in Al-Abyar in the Benghazi region. Fighting groups identified by the United Nations as terrorists is a priority, but so is ensuring the protection of civilians. Only the unification of all Libyan forces will effectively combat terrorism, secure borders and dismantle migrant trafficking networks. That is why building a unified national security architecture under the civilian authorities is a top priority.

It will also be essential to address economic and humanitarian issues as well as those on the security front, as Mr. Salamé emphasized so eloquently in his briefing. The situation for Libyans, particularly the middle class, is deteriorating rapidly and is not sustainable. Libya's oil resources must remain under the exclusive control of the Government of National Accord and the National Oil Corporation of Tripoli, the only legitimate authorities, in order to benefit all Libyans in accordance with Council resolutions. We must preserve and strengthen the sanctions regimes within the framework of the arms embargo and the fight against illicit oil flows in order to support the political process. We must also put an end to the parallel economy that Mr. Salamé called "the economy of predation", which is fuelled by political divisions and conflict. We reiterate that the Council must be able to take all necessary measures against any individuals or entities threatening Libya's stability. We must also continue to encourage dialogue between the Presidency Council and economic and financial institutions.

We are appalled by the deplorable treatment of migrants travelling through Libya. While the issue is yet another challenge for the Libyan authorities, it is also one for the international community. France therefore calls on the Libyan authorities to make every effort to ensure that migrants are treated with dignity and to strengthen officials' cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration. The violence and abuse that has been inflicted on migrants in Libya is intolerable. Our top priority must be to protect human rights and combat organized crime. Strengthening national institutions and developing economic alternatives to trafficking are essential to that.

Lastly, we want to stress that it is important for Libya to fulfil its obligation to cooperate with the International Criminal Court in handing over persons for whom arrest warrants have been issued. That would represent an important sign of the Libyan parties' commitment to the fight against impunity, which is vital if they are to preserve the confidence of the Libyan people in their own State. The crimes that persist in Libya must not go unpunished. That is one of the necessary conditions not only for justice but also for reconciliation and peace.

In conclusion, on behalf of France, I would like to stress how urgent it is to continue implementing Mr. Salamé's action plan, and all our joint efforts should be geared to that. It is in the best interests of Libyans, as well as the international community, to work for national reconciliation and a political consensus. Our unity and common commitment are more necessary than ever for achieving that and completing the various stages of the action plan. In that context, it will be important to maintain the resources of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya so that it can effectively discharge its mandate.

Mr. Skoog (Sweden): I thank you, Mr. President, for your presence here this morning and for presiding over this important meeting, which is very much appreciated. I also thank Special Representative Salamé for his valuable and informative briefing and, even more importantly, for his commitment and that of the Secretary-General to actively leading as well as coordinating the international community's efforts in support of peace and security in Libya. I also want to acknowledge the presence of Mr. Mohamed Siala, Libya's Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to thank him

for being here today. I look forward to hearing his statement later on.

We have consistently advocated for the United Nations to play the leading role in the mediation and support efforts in Libya. The Secretary-General's vision for a reinvigorated and long-term United Nations approach has provided a blueprint for our concerted action. Mr. Salamé can count on our continued and full support for his efforts to implement the action plan for Libya. We will continue to support efforts to amend the Libyan Political Agreement, which is the only viable framework for the transitional period into 2018, and to agree on a reformed Presidency Council, with a view to preparing for elections and promoting national reconciliation. To that end, we welcome the proposed next steps that Mr. Salamé outlined for us today and, as others have, we call on all the parties to engage constructively with him in that process.

We welcome the participation of women in the drafting committee sessions in Tunis. Going forward, we emphasize the critical importance of women's representation and full and equal participation in each step of the process, and of ensuring that upcoming committee gatherings, as well as the national conference, will provide opportunities for their concerns to be addressed, including with regard to security and mobility.

We took careful note of Mr. Salamé's pertinent observations on the depletion of funds and the management, or perhaps mismanagement, of Libyan assets. Like him, we are deeply concerned about the widespread abuses and violations of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law being perpetrated by all sides, from Derna and Al-Abyar in the East to Aarsbefana in the West, almost always with complete impunity. Summary executions, kidnappings, torture, rape and other forms of sexual abuse must stop and be investigated, and those responsible must be brought to justice. In the absence of accountability, those crimes also contribute to a dangerous spiral of revenge and retaliation that threatens the promise of peace in Libya. I thank Mr. Salamé for stressing those issues today, and we encourage the United Nations Support Mission in Libya to step up its human rights monitoring. Italy took careful note of his thoughts on how justice can be improved, including through international expert mechanisms.

We welcomed the first visit to Libya by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in October. That was significant, and we share his grave concerns, which others here today have echoed, about the suffering of migrants and refugees and about the conditions in detention facilities. Clearly, further efforts are needed to turn them into open-transit centres that meet international standards. Support is also needed for the important work being carried out in Libya by the International Organization for Migration and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to find sustainable alternatives to detention, especially for vulnerable groups.

In conclusion, as all the speakers before me have stressed, we must now seize the window of opportunity that exists to advance the political process in Libya and lay the foundations for long-term peace and stability. It is essential that all Libyan stakeholders engage constructively and for the good of the Libyan people and that the Council and the wider international community come together in support of those efforts.

Mr. Aboulatta (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): First of all, we commend you, Sir, as Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Italy, for presiding over this important Security Council meeting at an important historical juncture for our brother country of Libya. I would like to thank Mr. Skoog for his statement in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya. I would also like to thank Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, for his briefing, and to take this opportunity to express to him Egypt's continued support for his intensive work aimed at achieving a political solution to the Libyan crisis.

I would like to outline some of Egypt's efforts to help to unify and strengthen the Libyan National Army forces and support the work of Mr. Salamé and the United Nations in general. The Egyptian committee tasked with the Libyan issue hosted a delegation of Libyan military personnel in Cairo from 29 October to 2 November, where they conducted detailed discussions on various ideas and solutions aimed at launching a new era with a view to unifying the Libyan military establishment. A group of specialized technical committees has been formed to discuss unifying the military establishment and to explore various concerns related to achieving that goal. The discussions focused on issues pertaining to the nature of the relationship

between the civilian authorities and the military, as well as how to restructure and reorganize the latter. The delegation agreed to meet again in Cairo, following a presentation of the discussions back home in Libya, so as to continue consultations on the necessary procedures and to acknowledge the recommendations that the committees have endorsed for reunifying the military establishment.

On the political front, Egypt continues to follow closely the meetings of the High State Council on amending the Libyan Political Agreement. In that regard, we would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our appreciation for Mr. Salamé's exhaustive efforts and the importance of continuing to expand the range of consultations on the amendments. We also consider it important to ensure that the participants display the flexibility needed to enable the implementation of the Agreement, which we all desire. It will be crucial to avoid confrontation and embrace harmony and agreement. We should also note that time is not on our side, because any delay in arriving at a consensus on the amendments to the Agreement would expose the crisis in Libya to further complications. We must therefore work quickly to finalize those amendments by the end of the year.

With regard to developments on the ground, we express our deep concern about the military manoeuvres and recent clashes in Warshefana, in western Libya. Egypt urges all parties to exercise self-control and avoid escalation.

In conclusion, we reiterate our full support for the work of the United Nations and Mr. Salamé, and we wish the brotherly people of Libya peace, prosperity and well-being.

Mr. Llorentty Soliz (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is a privilege to welcome you to today's Council meeting, Mr. President. Bolivia commends the presence and the work of Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). We want to express our support and gratitude to him for his major efforts in achieving the progress that has been made since his appointment. We also express our appreciation for the work and briefing of Ambassador Olof Skoog in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya. Bolivia also commends His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Siala, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya, for his presence here today.

We would like to begin by calling on parties to implement the Libyan Political Agreement and to maintain a sustained dialogue aimed at accomplishing a peaceful, orderly and inclusive political transition, led by and for the Libyan people, that addresses their interests and will enable them to define their own future within the framework of Libya's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We believe that Mr. Salamé's proposals — which include establishing a national conference to bring together all political stakeholders to work together on constitutional, legislative and institutional reforms, as well as organizing an electoral process that will enable the adoption of a Constitution and promote progress towards presidential and parliamentary elections — will pave the way to that goal. In that context, we emphasize and highlight the importance of the mediation efforts that the various regional and international stakeholders have been making to promote the Libyan political process and to strengthen the related cooperation mechanisms, and we acknowledge the initiatives undertaken by Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia to support and promote the process.

We are very concerned, however, about the continuing sporadic clashes between the parties and their high humanitarian cost. According to an UNSMIL report of 1 November, the casualties recorded in the month of October alone included 15 people injured and 23 killed by bombing, crossfire, or the presence of explosive remnants of war and improvised explosive devices. Sadly, we must add those fatalities to the more than 30,000 victims of the conflict since 2011.

Moreover, the alarming number of migrants and refugees who have lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea — which in 2017 reportedly exceeded 3,000, according to a 13 November report from the International Organization for Migration — is only one aspect of the critical situation that these people are enduring on the Mediterranean coast. According to a report published by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, more than 13,000 migrants and refugees have been rescued in the Mediterranean Sea by the Libyan Coast Guard, an accomplishment that we appreciate and would like to highlight. We are nevertheless deeply troubled by the reports of the indefinite detention of migrants, reportedly amounting to more than 20,000 people in custody. The conditions to which they have been

subjected while in custody reportedly include torture, sexual violence and harassment, including the denial of medical help. In that regard, we call on all the parties to work to prevent and end human rights violations and abuse of migrants in centres under their control. We remind them that they must fulfil their obligations under international humanitarian law and guarantee the rights of these individuals. In that regard, we call for the corresponding investigations to begin in order to identify those responsible for these violations and ensure that they are duly investigated and prosecuted.

We remind the actors and parties involved in the conflict that they are obligated to uphold and comply with their obligations in the framework of international humanitarian, avoid causing greater suffering to the civilian population and refrain from violating their fundamental rights.

Furthermore, we wish to express our support for the progress reported today by the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya in accordance with its mandate and on follow-up tasks regarding the implementation of resolution 2362 (2017).

Finally, it is important to reiterate that the impact that the Libyan conflict has had on the security situation in the region is a direct consequence of the interventionist practices and regime change policies that have had an effect extending far beyond the Sahel region, with terrible consequences that we are still witnessing today.

Mr. Bessho (Japan): I would like to begin by welcoming the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, and to thank him and Ambassador Skoog for their informative briefings. I would also warmly welcome His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Siala to the Council.

Japan reiterates its support for the ongoing process among the Libyan people, in accordance with the action plan presented by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in September. We support the Special Representative's efforts to advance the process. The window of opportunity must be seized now. We are all aware that the negotiations will not be easy and that they will occasionally experience some bumps along the road. The important thing is to maintain the momentum of the dialogue in order to complete the transition, and that should be driven by the will of the Libyan people.

The Council should support the process by providing the necessary assistance. In particular, parties that have influence over relevant actors should contribute to containing any action that may negatively impact the process. Japan's Foreign Minister Kono directly conveyed Japan's readiness to support the Libyan-owned process to Foreign Minister Siala when they met in September.

Reflecting this commitment, we are now considering relocating our embassy to Tunis so that we can more closely follow the situation on the ground and strengthen cooperation with relevant countries and organizations. At the same time, in order for the year-long process to maintain its momentum and eventually bear fruit, the Council should not only be supporting dialogues among influential political figures, but must also consider how to strengthen the confidence and support of the Libyan people in the process. In order to build the confidence of the people in the ongoing political process, the provision of basic public services and enhancement of the capacity of the Government of National Accord and local Governments are essential. Assistance to internally displaced persons is also much needed.

We appreciate the action plan, as well as the presidential statement that followed (S/PRST/2017/19), recognizing the need to address these issues in parallel with the political process. Japan has been actively supporting local peacebuilding efforts in Libya, such as capacity- and institution-building, economic and social development and local reconciliation. These activities aim to help consolidate peace and stability from the local level. We have prioritized contributions to the Stabilization Facility for Libya, which is led by the Government of National Accord, and we are considering further peacebuilding assistance.

I would like to conclude by reiterating Japan's strong commitment to helping the Libyans overcome their challenges. The Libyan Political Agreement remains the only viable framework for Libya's transitional period, and we will continue to work in close coordination with the international community for its success.

Mr. Seck (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): The delegation of Senegal is pleased to see you, Mr. President, presiding over this important briefing on the situation in Libya — a situation that your country is right to define as a top priority during its presidency

of the Council. I also welcome the presence of His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Siala, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya, whose statement we look forward to hearing.

I should like to turn to my Ambassador Skoog, on my left, and congratulate him on the outstanding work that he and his country are doing at the helm of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

The current situation in Libya is of particular concern to us. The glimmer of hope kindled by the recent efforts of Mr. Salamé and countries such as France and Egypt has been threatened by the recent resurgence of violence. We are also concerned because its effects on the civilian population and throughout Africa have been catastrophic. For us Africans, the protraction and aggravation of the Libyan conflict continues to have an especially devastating effect on the entire continent, but especially the Sahelo-Saharan region. Weapons continue to circulate, terrorist groups are proliferating and human trafficking is flourishing, with its scourge of grave violations of international humanitarian law.

The evolution of the situation in Libya will depend partly on the successful implementation of several important initiatives under way, such as the United Nations Integrated Strategy for the Sahel, the promising Group of Five for the Sahel process and the Alliance for the Sahel, promoted by France and Germany.

My delegation wishes to underscore that there are no military solutions to the Libyan crisis. We therefore encourage all Libyan parties to consider only the national interests of their country and to make every effort to overcome political differences and work together for the establishment of peace and security in order to preserve the national sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of their great African country.

Senegal also urges Libyans to exercise restraint, put an end to violence and confrontations, and work in a spirit of compromise on the basis of the Libyan Political Agreement. Although of course certain amendments need to be introduced — as Mr. Salamé mentioned earlier — the Agreement is the only viable framework accepted by the majority of Libyan actors in order to complete the political transition in the country through an inclusive process led by the Libyans themselves.

The challenges related to the current situation in Libya and its neighbouring countries remind us of the need to work towards the unification and reconstruction of the institutions in Libya, including the military and security forces, in accordance with the Libyan Political Agreement. Therefore, the implementation of the action plan proposed by Mr. Salamé deserves to be supported, while also taking advantage of the better coordination of numerous initiatives for the resumption of internal dialogue and Libya's geopolitical situation. That is why the work of UNSMIL, which has been led in an outstanding manner by Mr. Salamé on the ground, is essential and deserves our full support.

Mr. Shen Bo (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China welcomes to New York Mr. Angelino Alfano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, to preside over this meeting. China also welcomes Foreign Minister Siala of Libya. China thanks the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, and Ambassador Olof Skoog for their respective briefings.

The Libyan Political Agreement, concluded in December 2015, represents a major achievement of the Libyan people in their endeavour to restore peace and stability. Over the past two years, the people of Libya have made tireless efforts to implement the Libyan Political Agreement, and have achieved a certain degree of progress. In the meantime, Libya is facing multiple major challenges, ranging from significant political divergence, a fragile security situation, rampant terrorism and the problem of refugees and migrants.

China is following the situation and developments in Libya with close attention, and supports any and all attempts aimed at advancing the political process and promoting the united efforts of Libyan parties to fight terrorism. The Libyan parties should work together and adopt positive measures to advance the political process. The international community should reach a further common understanding on the matter and offer effective assistance to the Libyan peace process.

First, the search for a political solution must continue. The international community should respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Libya and continue to promote a political process that is led and owned by the Libyans themselves. The Libyan parties should demonstrate goodwill, settle their differences through inclusive political dialogue and, on the basis of the Libyan Political Agreement, find a solution that accommodates the concerns of

all parties in order to restore national authority and achieve national reconciliation, peace, stability and the development of the country.

Secondly, maximum efforts must be made to secure security in Libya and to create enabling conditions for an inclusive and sustainable political dialogue. China supports the efforts of Libya to safeguard its national security and stability, and hopes that the Libyan parties will strengthen their dialogue, set aside their differences, and continue to cooperate in areas of common interest to the Libyan people, such as fighting terrorism and accelerating economic development.

Thirdly, the United Nations should remain the main channel for mediation. Recently, the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), under the leadership of Mr. Salamé, has been working on the United Nations action plan to promote the political process in Libya. UNSMIL has extensively engaged with Libyan parties, facilitated dialogue between the House of Representatives and the High State Council, and conducted the meaningful exploration of key issues, such as amendments to the Libyan Political Agreement.

China supports Mr. Salamé in steadily carrying out his work and appreciates the efforts of the neighbouring States, the League of Arab States and the African Union to facilitate dialogue among Libyans. We hope that the parties concerned will continue to advocate peace and promote dialogue and we urge all parties to demonstrate flexibility and actively participate in national reconciliation. China is ready to work consistently with the international community and make its own contribution to the early restoration of security, stability and prosperity in Libya.

Mr. Umarov (Kazakhstan): At the outset, my delegation would like to welcome and acknowledge your presence, Sir, in presiding over today's meeting, as well as the participation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya, Mr. Mohamed Siala. We thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, and Ambassador Olof Skoog for their committed work and comprehensive updates.

Kazakhstan welcomes the adoption of the new United Nations action plan aimed at resolving the protracted crisis in Libya, which was presented in September on the margins of the high-level meeting of the General Assembly at its seventy-second session. We fully support the mediation efforts of the international community, including those of the neighbouring countries and the Middle East Quartet, to advance political reconciliation in Libya. Those measures of external support must be coordinated in a comprehensive and strategic manner to resolve the situation in Libya under the auspices of the United Nations.

In that context, we highly commend the committed efforts of Special Representative Salamé to seek a political settlement. The rounds of talks that were envisaged by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya and the joint drafting committee are critical, and we therefore urge the Libyan political forces to cooperate constructively with Special Representative Salamé.

Post-conflict reconstruction, following the settlement of the crisis in Libya through political and diplomatic means and an inclusive inter-Libyan dialogue, will be most critical. In that sense, we positively assess the steps taken by the Special Representative to ensure the return of the United Nations Mission to Libya. That will mobilize more active work and engagement on the ground, with various players from Libyan society.

Once again, we emphasize that the solution to the conflict must be primarily and solely peaceful; a political agreement is the only viable option for reconciliation. At the same time, the initiative for and ownership of political processes and solutions must come from the Libyans themselves, who must determine their own future. But this political process will take hold only if there are measures to improve the socioeconomic conditions that will positively impact the political process and stability in the country. Those measures must be accompanied by steps to unite all Libyan parties under the legitimate and effectively functioning institutions of power. Their absence would create a vacuum and a fertile environment for the activities of extremists and terrorist groups.

We are extremely concerned at the high level of impunity and the widespread violations of human rights and international humanitarian law being perpetrated by the different parties to the conflict. As we heard last week from the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (see S/PV.8091), the security situation in Libya remains a matter of great concern and a threat to international peace and security.

We are also concerned about the dire situation of migrants. We share the concerns of the Special Representative on the prevalence of irregular migration and the revenue it generates for smuggler

networks. Such activities have proven to be a direct threat to stability in several parts of Libya. Hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees often suffer abuse and detention in inhumane conditions. It is clear that we need to bring a halt to that by clamping down on smugglers and having a concerted migration policy. At tomorrow's debate, we will discuss the root causes of migration flows that adversely affect the security situation in the Mediterranean.

We believe that an early settlement of the situation in Libya will reduce the level of migration flows across the country. Of particular importance is the task of providing humanitarian assistance to the population in dire need, whose grave plight must not be overlooked in our pursuit of a dialogue between the various political forces in the country. In that vein, it is necessary to emphasize the need to ensure respect for human rights and prevent attempts of to illegally exploit migrants. We therefore welcome the desire of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to expand its activities in Libya to ensure the protection of the rights of refugees.

Ms. Sison (United States of America): Mr. President, your presence and that of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya, Mr. Mohamed Siala, underscore the importance of this briefing. We also thank Special Representative Salamé and Ambassador Skoog for their briefings.

The United States joins the many others around this table in offering our full support for Special Representative Salamé's many efforts. The United States commends all of his work to reinvigorate the political process in Libya and to help the Libyan people achieve political reconciliation. It should be clear from this meeting today that he has the strong backing of the Security Council. There is a real opportunity here for Libya to turn the page on years of strife. Libya's leaders can put the country on the road to greater stability and economic prosperity by fully engaging with the United Nations political process. Now is the time for all political actors to show leadership and to take decisive steps towards peace.

We as members of the Council must also use all of our collective influence to support Libyans on that path. Of course, the road to peace is not always direct, and any mediation process will face setbacks. We are confident that those obstacles can be overcome through the international community's unified support to Special Representative Salamé and the United Nations-facilitated political process. All of us must speak in one voice in emphasizing the central role of the United Nations. We look forward to maintaining close cooperation with Special Representative Salame as he continues to implement the action plan that the Council unanimously endorsed.

We also recognize the leadership of Prime Minister Faiez Serraj and the Government of National Accord in advancing political reconciliation in Libya. As the United Nations action plan rightly envisions, the ultimate goal must be to help Libyans prepare for elections that will be broadly accepted. Elections should take place when the political groundwork is in place and when security conditions allow. Political dialogue is the only way forward in Libya. Any attempt to impose a military solution will only further destabilize Libya, play into the hands of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham and other terrorist groups, and undermine efforts to address the challenge of migration.

The Libyan people have suffered for far too long. Libyans have made clear that they are tired of insecurity and of spoilers undermining political transitions. Spoilers in Libya must not block or delay reconciliation any longer. That includes any attempt to undermine the integrity of the Libyan Government and Libya's core economic institutions. Some parties have asserted that the Libyan Political Agreement expires on the two-year anniversary of its signing on 17 December. The international community must reject those claims definitively. They will benefit no one but political spoilers who think that, by dragging their feet and running down the clock, they can bypass the United Nations-facilitated political process. The Libyan Political Agreement remains the only valid framework throughout Libya's transitional period. We all want a swift political resolution to the conflict, but imposing false deadlines will backfire.

Special Representative Salame announced the United Nations action plan in September. We must ensure that he has the time and support necessary to implement it. Any political and security vacuum will only undermine the reconciliation process and further destabilize Libya. We are concerned about recent increases in fighting in certain parts of Libya. The United States is particularly concerned about the recent air strike in Derna, which is a city in dire need of immediate and unfettered humanitarian access. We also join the Government of National Accord in condemning

the uncovering of a mass grave in Al-Abyar, where 36 people were found shot to death. Those who are responsible for violations of international humanitarian law and violations and abuses of international human rights law must be held accountable. The United States is also concerned about the tense security situation in western Libya, including in Zawiyah and Warshafanah. Any destabilizing military activity could escalate quickly into significant armed civil conflict.

Finally, turning to sanctions, we want to focus on the challenge of illegal smuggling of crude oil and petroleum products from Libya. The Council, at the request of the Government of National Accord, has repeatedly condemned those illicit transactions. Earlier this year, the Council designated two vessels, the *Capricorn* and the *Lynn S*, for their involvement in illegal fuel smuggling. Those vessels remain sanctioned. Therefore, we remind all Member States, particularly those in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, that those vessels must not be permitted to enter their ports. We also reiterate that the flag States of those vessels must fulfil their obligation to direct the ships not to load, transport or discharge their cargo.

Looking ahead, the United States believes that now is a crucial opportunity for Libyans to make real progress towards political reconciliation. Special Representative Salamé and the international community are aligned behind that objective. Now is the moment for Libya's leaders to engage in good faith with the Special Representative. The United States will work to mobilize the international community against anyone who disrupts the United Nations process, but we hope that Libyans will be able to put their differences aside for the sake of their country's future. It is long past time for Libya to rebuild its institutions and its economy. The United States urges all Libyans in the east, west and south to come together in a shared effort to ensure Libya's security and prosperity.

Mr. Yelchenko (Ukraine): I thank the Minister Siala for his presence. I want to thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé for his important briefing today and for all his efforts to restore peace in Libya. My special appreciation also goes to Ambassador Skoog for his effective Chairmanship of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya. We look forward to the important statement to be delivered by Mr. Siala, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Libya.

I would like to highlight the following points.

First, Ukraine continues to believe that the conflict in Libya has no military solution. It can be resolved only through a genuine dialogue, in which all stakeholders must participate in good faith and without preconditions. In that regard, we welcome the recent engagement of Special Representative Salamé with the parties to advance the implementation of the United Nations action plan for the resumption of an inclusive Libyan-owned political process, which was endorsed by the Council in presidential statement S/PRST/2017/19, on 10 October. In particular, I would like to refer to several meetings of a joint drafting committee in Tunis and to other meetings in the region that sought to discuss amendments to the Libyan Political Agreement, which, in our view, remains the only viable framework for ending the current crisis. In that regard, we call on all parties involved to continue those consultations until all outstanding issues are resolved. Any attempt to undermine the objectives of the transition period in Libya are unacceptable and should be rejected.

Secondly, my delegation is extremely concerned by the ongoing insecurity in Libya. The warring parties must refrain from any actions that may further aggravate the security situation and disrupt the unification of the Libyan army and national security forces under a unified and civilian Government. Ukraine also takes very seriously the threat of terrorism in Libya. It has not only an internal dimension, but a broader regional impact. In that regard, Ukraine supports the efforts of the Government of National Accord to counter terrorist threats and to defeat the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and other extremist groups in Libya.

The ISIL attack in Misrata on 4 October against a courthouse and the establishment by that organization of additional checkpoints near Sirte are a clear signal that the continuing fragmentation of Libyan society, coupled with internal strife and armed confrontations, is the single biggest obstacle to conducting a targeted, consistent and persistent anti-ISIL campaign in that country. Thus, it is now more necessary than ever that the international community continue its support to the Government of National Accord in its efforts to unite the country and restore law and order.

Thirdly, we are no less concerned over the deteriorating human rights situation in Libya. Numerous reports alert us to ongoing human rights abuses and violations, such as unlawful killings,

kidnappings, forced disappearances and torture. Recent discoveries of bodies bearing signs of having been shot and tortured are extremely troubling. The other development that Ukraine is worried about is abuses against migrants and refugees in official and unofficial detention centres in Libya, which include arbitrary detentions, cases of torture, rape and other ill-treatment. In our view, the international community must develop a comprehensive strategy on how to better protect those vulnerable groups. I am sure that our discussion tomorrow will contribute to that endeavour.

Finally, I would like to reiterate once again Ukraine's support for the efforts of Special Representative Salamé and to commend all the men and women of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, who continue to carry out their duties in extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

Mr. Bermúdez (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): We would like to thank you, Mr. President, for joining us here in the Council today and for presiding over our work. We also wish to thank Mr. Mohamed Siala, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya; Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL); and Ambassador Olof Skoog, Permanent Representative of Sweden, in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, for their detailed briefings.

The stabilization and resolution of the protracted conflict in Libya remains a priority for the Security Council. Uruguay calls on the all parties in the Libyan conflict to be calm and moderate, while we reiterate that the only solution to the conflict is through political means and negotiation among the parties. The way out will be through all Libyans, the product of inclusive negotiations that enable a scheduled political process leading to the holding of elections while protecting the country from any authoritarianism.

In that sense, we support the action plan presented by Secretary-General António Guterres and his Special Representative to revive the political process in Libya under the facilitation and leadership of the United Nations. The Security Council should continue giving its support to Prime Minister Serraj and the Presidency Council of the Government of National Accord to enable them to fulfil the Libyan Political Agreement.

Uruguay has always stated that it welcomes any unilateral, regional or multilateral initiative that proposes solutions to this and any other conflict. In that connection, we commend the meeting convened by France in July that led to an agreement on the cessation of hostilities and on the holding of elections in 2018. We hope that what was agreed on at that occasion will be carried out. We also welcome the meetings of the joint drafting committee of members of the House of Representatives and the High State Council at the request of the Special Representative. Those are all transcendental measure to promote trust and progress towards national reconciliation, which must be followed by specific actions on the ground.

We encourage Mr. Salamé to work closely with the Libyan authorities to agree on the amendments required in the Libyan Political Agreement so that the Agreement can be used as a framework to bring peace and unity to the country, to extend the control of the legitimate Libyan Government to the whole territory, and to urgently meet the multiple challenges it faces. That is the only way the Presidency Council of the Government of National Accord will be able to extend its authority, curb the new wave of violence, preserve its legitimacy and provide security and essential services to the Libyan people.

I would like to highlight here the fight against terrorism, which still has centres of power in Libya, as well as the need to address the serious humanitarian crisis and to cooperate with the European authorities to tackle trafficking in persons and arms smuggling. The violence that continues over vast swathes of the Libyan territory — particularly in Derna, which was subjected to siege and air strikes costing the lives of dozens of civilians — can only lead to escalating the conflict and undermining efforts under way to reactivate the Libyan Political Agreement.

The reigning chaos in recent years in Libya has fomented actions of extremists and armed militias, who have taken advantage of the institutional and security vacuum to carry out their criminal and terrorist activities that affect not only Libya, but also its neighbours in the region and beyond. From a geopolitical standpoint, achieving peace and stability in Libya is crucial for the Maghreb and other regions in the continent.

We remain concerned about the desperate situation facing migrants who use Libya as a country of transit on the way to Europe. Hundreds of thousands of sub-Saharan migrants are in Libya as we speak, hoping

for a chance to attempt to cross the Mediterranean. They are subject to abuse and very serious violations of their human rights. In the last few hours, there have been reports once again on the sale of slaves in Libya. That is a reprehensible fact that must be unanimously condemned.

We reiterate that in seeking solutions to this problem, we should prioritize the human rights of migrants and refugees, avoiding treating them as criminals. Only the political and institutional stabilization of Libya will allow for any significant reduction in that phenomenon.

To conclude, we confirm our support for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and for the role of UNSMIL. We encourage him to continue working closely with Prime Minister Serraj and the Presidency Council of the Government of National Accord and with the other parties in Libya in order to agree upon an appropriate framework to address the country's current situation, pave the way for a revival of the political process and reduce violence. The new Libyan Political Agreement, together with the United Nations action plan, will have to be a central part of the solution to the urgent and huge challenges facing Libya. They include fighting terrorism and addressing the very serious humanitarian, economic and security crises affecting millions of persons.

Mr. Alemu (Ethiopia): We are pleased to see you, Mr. President, presiding over this meeting of the Council in a demonstration of the importance you attach to the situation in Libya. Let me take this opportunity to thank you for the very humane way your country has been handling the migrant issue, for which we are very appreciative. We also welcome the presence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya with us this morning. We appreciate Mr. Salmé, Special Representative of the Secretary General, for his briefing and diplomatic efforts in the ongoing search for peace and stability in Libya. The analysis and the updates we received from the Special Representative was truly of high quality. We have drawn confidence from his comprehensive and objective analysis.

As the representative of France said, the time has come for this Council to speak with one voice on Libya. As we know, that applies to other situations as well. We also thank Ambassador Skoog for his briefing and his efforts as the Chair of the Libya Sanctions Committee. We know that whatever tasks Ambassador Skoog is entrusted with, he discharges them with a great sense of responsibility. Given the many human rights violations, much is expected from the Committee he chairs, and we are confident that he will make the Committee as effective as possible.

The deteriorating political, security and humanitarian situation in Libya, including the recent attacks targeting civilians and civilian institutions, continues to be of serious concern. We take this opportunity to express our solidarity and sympathy with the people and Government of Libya. We reiterate our conviction that the multifaceted crisis in Libya, including illegal migration and refugees, as well as illegal armed groups, can be addressed sustainably only through a comprehensive political solution facilitated by the United Nations.

In that regard, the United Nations action plan, with its sequential components, provides another opportunity to end the current political impasse and to meet the legitimate demands of all Libyans. We welcome the continued efforts of the Special Representative to engage all Libyans on the basis of the United Nations action plan, including by bringing together the main political actors, so as to amend the Libyan Political Agreement, which remains the only viable framework to resolve the Libyan crisis.

We particularly welcome the progress made in Tunis at the meeting of the Libyan stakeholders under the auspices of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya. We believe that that process is absolutely critical to helping to overcome the current political impasse and to pave the way for durable peace, stability and reconciliation in Libya through an all-inclusive dialogue. However, we understand the challenge in addressing the points of divergence and, hence, the need for the meaningful and constructive engagement of all Libyans with the greatest sense of urgency and national vision in order to reach a common understanding and to move the process forward.

Clearly, two issues, among others, would continue to be critical. As Special Representative Salamé has stressed, there should be no vacuum; hence, the need to uphold the Libyan Political Agreement. The other issue relates to the need to make the process genuinely Libyan-owned. Of course, there is no military solution to the Libyan problem.

The international community, particularly the Council, should send a strong and united message to pressure all parties to stop the violence and to engage in

an inclusive and sustained political dialogue. The role of the neighbouring countries of Libya in the pursuit of peace, security and reconciliation is, indeed, critical within the framework of a Libyan-owned process. The African Union also has an important role to play in the process. Ultimately, however, the solution to the crisis in Libya lies primarily in the hands of the Libyans themselves and the role of the international community is to provide effective support to the Libyan efforts. We therefore hope that all Libyans will constructively engage in the inclusive political process, as set out in the action plan, and demonstrate a spirit of compromise in order to achieve concrete results that could facilitate the full implementation of the plan.

The President: I give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya.

Mr. Siala (Libya) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Mr. President, my dear friend Angelino Alfano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would also like to thank Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya, for his valuable briefing. My thanks also go to Mr. Skoog, Permanent Representative of Sweden, for his briefing, in which he touched on the most recent developments with regard to the sanctions on Libya in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

I would like to reaffirm that the Government of National Accord is eager to support all United Nations efforts to assist the Libyan parties in reaching full agreement on various contentious issues in order to put an end to the crisis in Libya, stop the bloodshed and alleviate the suffering of the Libyan people.

As the Council knows, the suffering of the Libyan people increases daily on various fronts in the light of the deteriorating security situation and the political divide in the country. Despite the serious attempts of some national parties to resolve the situation and to overcome the ongoing impasse, differing political interests among the actors have led to the continuing instability and prevent the Government of National Accord from discharging its duties, in particular those relating to the provision of basic services to citizens. In that regard, we hope that international and regional efforts will continue until a political consensus among all Libyan parties is reached in order to achieve peace and stability in the country.

It would be remiss of me not to highly commend the concerted efforts of Mr. Salamé in recently organizing the round of talks in the sisterly country of Tunisia, where he brought together representatives of the House of Representatives and the High State Council in order to agree on a consensus text and to amend the Libyan Political Agreement, signed on 15 December 2015. In that regard, we hope that the efforts of the Special Representative will continue to bring an end to that divide and to unite all Libyans, and that rapid solutions are achieved in order to overcome the current obstacles, in the light of the current standstill, to reach an understanding between the House of Representatives and the High State Council, and to organize and hold elections and the referendum on the Constitution as soon as possible next year. We, in turn, have already taken some steps to support the High National Electoral Commission so as to hold elections in the near future.

Despite the great challenges in Libya, the Government of National Accord has spared no effort in addressing all those issues in a balanced and transparent way by involving all Libyan actors, both political and military, so as to bridge the gap and to unite Libya on the basis of its national interests. That is the national duty for which the Government of National Accord was established — namely, to achieve reconciliation, build civilian and democratic State institutions, and provide services to the Libyan people, who are exhausted by conflict and the political divide. We underscore the fact that there is no military solution to the crisis in Libya. There is a need to unite the military and security institutions so that they come under the civilian executive authority.

In that regard, we welcome the recent talks in Cairo, hosted by Eygpt, which led to a meeting between the military leaders of the Government of National Accord and their counterparts in the eastern part of the country. We hope that that will give rise to an effective proposal on distancing the military institutions from the political coaflict so that we can focus on combating terrorism and on protecting the State.

The Government of National Accord condemns the recent events targeting representatives of the Government of National Accord and the recent decisions of parallel bodies, such as the detention and isolation of mayors of certain provinces and other bodies that are

in contact with the Government of National Accord, leading to the issue of an arrest warrant for the Mayor of Tobruk. We strongly condemn such acts, which counteract our efforts to provide services to all Libyan cities and to shield citizens from the political conflict. Such acts also violate the resolutions of the Security Council, the League of Arab States, the African Union, the European Union and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which call for an end to cooperation with those parallel bodies.

The Government of National Accord also condemns violence among Libyans and the policy of settling accounts by force and detaining people on the basis of identity, including abductions, torture, extrajudicial killings and other acts that are tantamount to war crimes and crimes against humanity. The perpetrators must be handed over to the legitimate authorities so that they can be held accountable.

The Government of National Accord condemns the use of violence against any unarmed civilian or any step to harm civilians in any Libyan city.

In that vein, we recall the bombing of civilians in Wadi Nina on 20 September and the criminal air strikes on Derna on 30 October, which killed many innocent people, most of them women and children. We categorically reject such criminal acts. We contacted the Security Council at that time through the Permanent Mission of Libya to the United Nations, expressing our condemnation and rejection of those criminal acts. We asked the Council for assistance to investigate this terrorist act, determine the circumstances surrounding it and identify the perpetrators. Once again, we call on the Security Council to convene a special meeting to consider that incident and take appropriate action. We also call on the Council and the international community to assist in lifting the two-year siege imposed on Derna and open humanitarian corridors in order to ensure access to humanitarian aid for civilians.

Due to the deteriorating security situation, my country is suffering from many challenges that have undermined the capacities of the Libyan people, including the smuggling of oil and its derivatives by criminal armed gangs involved in numerous illicit activities, such as human trafficking. Recently, my Government requested that the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya renew the listing of two vessels for attempting to illicitly export Libyan oil derivatives.

In that regard, we hope that the flag countries will provide assistance to determine the circumstances of that incident, prevent such illicit acts and return the smuggled shipments to the legitimate Libyan authorities. We also note that lifting the ban on the listed vessels, despite their failure to comply with the law or return the smuggled shipments to the legitimate Libyan authorities, would certainly encourage the smugglers to pursue the same course. We also reaffirm the right of the Libyan national judiciary to investigate, indict and prosecute the perpetrators of those acts and to claim reparations from the countries concerned through international justice.

Turning to the frozen Libyan assets — an issue that we have addressed before the Council more than once — everyone is already aware of the concerns of the Government of National Accord. From the outset, resolution 1970 (2011) has reflected the international community's desire to protect the wealth of the Libyan people. It was meant not to punish Libya, but to preserve Libyan assets from being squandered during the revolution and transitional period after the fall of the previous regime. Thus, it was intended to last only for a specific period of time that and did not foresee that the protracted Libyan crisis would endure for more than six years. The frozen assets regime therefore has a negative impact on the interests of the Libyan people and future generations.

I note that our Permanent Mission to the United Nations has been communicating with the Security Council since March 2016 and repeated its request in June 2017, in two Security Council documents — S/2016/275 and S/2017/543 — in addition to the letter by His Excellency the President of the Presidential Council of the Government of National Accord, Mr. Faiez Serraj, addressed to the President of the Security Council and contained in document S/2017/629, on the regrettable state of the frozen Libyan assets under the current sanctions regime. The Libyan State is not asking for the freeze on the assets to be lifted, but calling for a particular formula that would assist it in managing its wealth and investments, while frozen, so that they are not gradually lost, as is the case year after year in significant amounts. We therefore call upon the Security Council once again to address that issue and stop such losses as soon as possible so as to thereby preserve the assets and wealth of the Libyan people.

To conclude, we note the high-level meeting held by the Secretary-General on 20 September, at which the

vital role of the United Nations in resolving the Libyan crisis was stressed. In that regard, the Government of National Accord renews its commitment to and cooperation with the United Nations through the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, in order to put an end to the political division and fragmentation in Libya and open new horizons that will focus on finding a decisive solution to address the suffering of the Libyan people owing to the deteriorating services, or lack thereof, and economic and financial distress.

The President: I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.